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Toward Democratic Indonesia, Destroy Its Fascism Before !!

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In 1965, precisely at 30 September, a mass killing have happened in Indonesia. That was the killing of more one million people which were ~~accused both as~~ members of PKI (Indonesian Communist Party), left PNI (Indonesian Nationalist Party), and its partisan and many other innocent people.

The '65 tragedy have constituted a new phase in the history of politics and Human Right in Indonesia, since the violence have been by no means the violence only, but also been the domination of economic, politics and social resources. That is why the problem of human right in Indonesia not only of law and legal one but also of economic, politics and millitary domination by the powerful one toward the weak. In short, to Indonesian people the problem of human right is of life and death the majority. It is the first agenda in changing toward democratic Indonesia.

The entry point for millitary to crush them is the killing tragedy toward six generals which were suspected to be going to form a general council in Indonesia. At that time, millitary itself had its *internal conflict* (between they who wanted to involve in politics and they who purposed to defend the millitary institution, the millitary stronghold). But on the contrary this conflict brought about an accusation to PKI that it was they the masterminding of the six generals killing. It is the first step for undertaking the state power. Helped by the religious groups, they embarked on a series of frightening raids over the 'pagans and atheists' --a call for communists and their partisans-- for protecting the state. The one very unreasonable is the fact that by having a largest number of members, PKI were being in its victory, gaining a legal advantageous position. They were yet carrying out parlementary politics together with the nationalist party and other religious groups in the government. They never assumed as an opponent groups. Really it is proved by the quite unorganized PKI and their hundred thousand members and partisan were, when they were suddenly crushed and even stated as a restricted party, dangerous party. One important point, if it was true that PKI would purpose to launch a revolution for taking the power, why there were no available weapon for its masses?

The following are some opinions about the 1965 tragedy:

1. That is the armed force, including the air force, which controlled the strategic places in Jakarta and killed the generals

(W.F. Wertheim, Whose Plots?-New Light on the 1965 Events, *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, vol. 9, no. 2, 1979, p. 200).

2. That is the revolutionary Council which identified itself as an actor of six generals killing and controlled the Indonesian Broadcast network as a central telecommunication and occupied some strategic locations around *Lapangan Merdeka* (Merdeka Square). They numbered 45 members which actually dominated by millitary member and only three PKI representatives in it (Harold Crouch, *Militer dan Politik di Indonesia*, Jakarta, Suara Harian, 1986, p. 109).

3. The key part which distorted that slaughtering facts is the role played by the press. At that time there were only two mass media allowed to publish, and owned all by the millitary (Noam Chomsky and Edward Sherman, *Political Economy of HR*).

For Indonesian people itself, however, it is difficult to express such conclusions openly, because trauma of the slaughtering, depolitization and fascistic policy have been being adopted continously until today.

Less than six months after that event, through the *Supersemar* (an orders letter issued at 11 march 1966), the power was handed over by Sukarno to General Suharto. The latter have been representing a certain interest, that is capital owner (foreign and domestic capital) which at that time placed a key position in millitary. Since then, the consolidation process of fascis regime, call themselves as New Order, have been carried out. It was realized through forming PANGKOPKAMTIB (an inconstitutional body) now called BAKORSTANAS as their main apparatus while intensive arresting and killing continously been committed on ten years afterward, even until now:

1. 1.000.000 peoples dead, 800.000 among them in Central Java, 100.000 in Bali and Sumatra (that were misterious killing toward some activists advocating labor and peasant rights; mass slaughtering to Acheh, Irian and East Timor activists which still continuing until now).

2. 55.000-100.000 political prisoners were internired to Buru Island (altough they are now freed, their civil rights have not yet been restored).

3. 750.000 political prisoners without being on trial, were treated arbitrarily (it have happened continously until now, and they who have been freed, do not receive any assurement). And only 800 ~~one~~ political prisoner have been on trial.

4. Other thousands disapearred without any traces (it also happen until now).
(Robert Cribb, ed, *The Indonesian Killings 65-66*, Monash, Papers on South-East Asia, no. 41, 1991).

PKI are still stated as a restricted party. The government

adopt a controlling system by creating special *KTP* (peoples identity card) for political prisoner and PKI members, Vigilante, etc. Thus, the act to undertake the state power by Suharto, was supported by millitary, by the mass killing and demolishing of Indonesian left group, included the academics, artist, trade union activists, etc.

After the destruction of PKI intensively and wildly, the state economic system have been totally changed. During 1966s, the government have received an emergency credit loan from Japan and United States amount to US$ 170 million through IMF (it must be noticed that the previous president, Soekarno is an anti-America). In 1967 the big non-communist countries established IGGI (Inter-government Group for Indonesia), including United States, Japan and other countries that are French, Germany, Dutch, Belgium, Australia ((now IGGI have been CGI-Consultative Group for Indonesia). While aiding the state economic under Suharto regime, each countries get a same share of concession in penetrating their capital to Indonesia. In the same year the law of foreign investment was adopted, a law which push and assure the foreign investment in Indonesia both independent or joint venture.

In other words, the killing of millions people in 1965 substantially not only the destroying ideologically and phisically many communist groups but also one effort to roll the political activities of civil society, which had been politicized society since 1920. And the other, it was to say a "welcome" to foreign capital which have alliance with domestic capital.

In the seventies, the government of Indonesia established Pertamina (cooperate institution of government and foreign enterprises on oil exploration). Since then Indonesian economy have heavily depend on the continuation of oil and gas export, despite log and textile production. Previously Indonesian export was rubber and sugar.

Facing the two times oil crisis (in 1982 and 1986), Soeharto have been applying the open door policy, privatization of many enterprises which were nationalized and controlled by the government in the Soekarno era. Those have been changed to be private owned, more precisely is president family owned, for one thing, cement company, automotive assembling company and distribution agent, cigarette company, hotel, electricity equipment, road construction, assurance, shipping industries, export-import, etc.

Indeed, the Indonesian government now is most being conducted by civil officers or ex-millitary. But however in relation to the majority of people, they still insist on the millitary forces for making effectively the power of fascistic politics. It is the armed forces most used to control the politics, on industrial and in agricultural relation. They act as a protector of factory owner toward the worker, of agricultural estate, of real estate, of banks, dams financed by internatinal consorcium. And only the people know how the armed forces do a repression and oppression:

1. At the end of 1970s, the government established SPSI (government-yellow trade union) and appointed admiral Soedomo as ministry of manpower. Now this office is carried by civil officer, an employee of some factories.

2. The law of foreign investment in 1967 was issued for foreign investment.

3. The law number 3 on political party and *Golkar* (the government party) and number 8 were issued for controlling the mass organization and NGO, widening the government power over them.

4. Effectively driving the dual function of armed forces, opening the chance to play a double role, as an instrument of security and defence, and at the same time involve in dominating politics and economy.

5. Handling the politics strictly, wildly with violent act (armed violence). Indeed the government is supported by three political parties but those parties are guarded by the same one political controll.

6. Adopting the subversive law, which has taken many victims (the imprisonment of some students and other intelectualls, slaughtering in Acheh, East Timor and Irian). It is the most concrete fact of human right violation on the international eyes.

7. The ignorance of Trias Politica principles. On the contrary, the presidential system have formed and determined such kind of parlement right to play the controlling role over president power.

Until the mid of 1993 now, the Suharto regime still consistent in its policy on anti-democracy and anti-people power.

It was not until 1991 that the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) report included an index of human freedom. This report placed Indonesia in 77th position out of 88 nations and only received five index points. It is therefore essential that the World conference support the following proposals:

1. That the United Nations approves the Bangkok NGO Declaration on Human Rights and calls upon the Asian Governments, including the Indonesian Government, to ensure its implementation.

2. That the United Nation support the Indonesian people's call for an end to political and economic violence committed by the Indonesian government against the democratic movement by:

a. Isolating the Indonesian regime with the same resolve as shown towards the South African apartheid regime;
b. Ending all military funding, support and training;
c. Making all financial and economic assistance, including preferential trade agreements, contingent upon human rights.

d. That the Indonesian government accept responsibility for the invasion and ongoing occupation of East Timor and agree to begin a process of negotiation for genuine self-determination.

3. That the United Nations pressure the Indonesian government and foreign funding agencies to adjust their development strategy in accordance with the principles of ecologically sound and sustainable development which benefit and take into account the needs of ordinary people.

4. That the United Nation force the Indonesian government to implement the following basic rights:

a. The right to organise including the abolishment of Law Number 8/1985 on mass organisations which contradicts the rights guaranteed by article 28 of the Indonesian 1945 Constitution.
b. To fully implement ILO Convention Number 87, 98, and 151 and abolishing Ministerial Decree Number 1109/1986 and 5/1987. This must include: the right to strike; the right of workers to form independent trade unions; the right to choose their own representatives; and end to military intervention in industrial disputes.
c. To abolish Law Number 5/1985 on Mass Organisations (ORMAS) and guarantee the right to form independent, mass based organisations with the freedom to define their own organisational and ideological principles.
d. To allow the formation of political parties, in addition to those now allowed by the government, and that such parties be free to organise both at the national, local and village level.
e. To abolish the Anti-Subversion Law PNPS 11, 1963.
f. To guarantee the right to freely express opinion, including the freedom of press, to organise demonstrations, campaigns and other forms of protest action.
g. To guarantee the legal rights of individuals charged under criminal law and the end to all military involvement in the judicial process. This must include the assumption of innocence, the right to council, the right to public trial by jury and the establishment of in independent judiciary. Limitation on the civil rights of ex-political prisoners must be abolished including their right to work, travel and involvement in political activity.

5. The establishment a permanent commission on Human Right. Such an organisation must be made up members independent from the government or government institutions with the legal authority to investigate abuses of human rights, make recommendations and take appropriate actions including in cases where the Indonesian government is found to be responsible for human rights violations.

6. That the Soeharto regime be tried by the International Court for the massacre of up to a million people when it seized power in 1965.

7. That a genuine act of self-determination be carried out under the auspices of the United Nation in East Timor, Aceh, and West Papua.

8. That the Executive, Judicial and Legislative bodies of government be separated and free from interference by the state and military.

9. To facilitate programs which can guarantee the participation of all Indonesian people in the process social and political development. This must include equal access to education, health and social welfare.

10. An end to all forms of discrimination against women including:

a. Equal wages, access to education, employment and representation in civil and government bodies.
b. Women must be able to choose whether or not they wish to have children and have free access to family planning.
c. An end to the exploitative practice of sending women migrant workers overseas.
d. Sexual harassment and rape within marriage must be recognised as a criminal act.
e. An end to forced prostitution and government, military and police involvement in organised prostitution.

11. Demand that the Indonesian government abide by its own laws prohibiting child labour.

12. A rejection of the Indonesian governments insistence that human rights be implemented according to regional, cultural, political and economic particularities and its refusal to allow international bodies to intervene in human rights abuses in Indonesia.

Jakarta, 12 June 1993